He was completely naked, that is, divested of his
756 necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and belt, and by the light of our
[301] electric lamps we could make out his tragic expression and his pale complexion. He let himself be helped to the camp without difficulty, where he sat down without a word and in a completely impressive attitude of dejection. Little by little, his story was drawn from him by an anxious listener. He explained that he had been carried off by the thunder (amɔ̃), [a storm had broken the same day]; the thunder had carried him in the air to a point which he designated at a distance of 25 kilometers from the camp (Ananáz River), had divested him of all his ornaments, then brought him back the same way and left him in the place where we had discovered him exhausted. Everyone went to sleep commenting on the incident and the next morning, C20 had recovered not only his habitual good humor, but also all his ornaments, which amazed no one and for which he offered no explanation. But the following days a very different version of the event began to be peddled by the Tarundé. They said that, far from having entered into relationship with the other world, C20, under the cover of a magical disappearance, had gone to undertake
[578] some transactions with a band of Sabané Indians who were camping in the vicinity. These insinuations were never developed further, and the official version of the affair continued to be ostensibly admitted. However, in our personal relationships, B1 let his preoccupations be seen upon several occasions. As the two groups left us shortly after, we never found out the outcome of the story.

756 No information has been uncovered concerning the manner of
278 naming the shaman as such. In the preparation of the arrow poison, C20 was assisted by his potential son-in-law C25.

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622 [104] Besides his supernatural attributes, the chief, or shaman,
756 plays another role, that of "leader" in ceremonies and celebrations.
●796 The Nambikwara have three types of ceremonies. Those which mark the critical moments of each one's existence, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, death; the seasonal festivals; and finally, the ceremonies celebrated on exceptional occasions: war and hunting or scavenging expeditions. We have already alluded to the rites of war, and we shall speak farther on of the ceremonies of the first type. We shall limit ourselves here then to some brief observations concerning the others.

●796 The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in
[226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic
796 534 activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in

1. See below, p. 109.

[B24] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named iomõte yilikãde, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (dutʔande, b1). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called iomõte (b1/2) and iamakaʃ (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (iamakaʃ) by which the Paressi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Paressi, employ a completely different term: kaigetasu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

796 45. ukuerige ãidnige iuarhaidne ungʔrage (haidʔne) ãinsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tãtige niyattahãrige kãde kãde kãde kã ãitendige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon to dance

iukuohãindige mihãdage komiegerage
and another time to play [the following month] more rain everything is dry

[105] mĩãdage tutʔhaihaikuirige
the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hãintendige halehãidnige denõ horãtige eieteende
to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not see it

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alãgena haĩtige (b1)
to sing in the place.

534 A very strict taboo rests on the flageolets. Only the adult
784 men can play them:

46. uĩtnore uĩtnia imaãgare.
Children do not know how to play the flageolet.

And the sight of the instruments is rigorously forbidden the women:

denaãtie iatjaeninĩnena ednaso jaĩneni (b1)
the women cannot see them, only the men see.

These flageolets are made in great secrecy, in the same place where they find suitable bamboo. If the musical expedition returns by day, they hide the flageolets in the branches of a tree not far from the camp or from the village. They only bring them out at night, at the moment of the concert, and the women must then retire to the huts or under the shelters, and hide their heads in
[688] their arms. If one of them violates the taboo, they claim she would be pursued by all the men and killed by blows of a stick. We did not have the chance to attend one of these festivals, but, as we desired to collect the musical repertory of the flageolets, we were able, with a certain amount of difficulty, to arrange it so that a mission was sent to find bamboo and make instruments for us (it was necessary to go about 15 kilometers). Having left in the morning, the group returned in the middle of the night, and until daylight we made music some distance from the camp in order to avoid all feminine indis-
[534] cretion. As each instrument sounds a little different from the others, the playing produces an illusion of harmony which is added to the charm of the melody, in itself very real.

534 It is possible that all the musical instruments of the Nambikwara
789 are connected to activities of an economic-social character. Some testimonials, a decisive confirmation of which I was not able to obtain, present the nasal flutes (araãtasu, a2) as meant to assure a rich harvest of the fruit piquy. The season of piquy, which grows in
[222] abundance in the plains, is actually an impatiently awaited period for the Indians. The fruit is admiringly weighed and said to have "lots of fat." Likewise the flutes of Pan (asinzu, a1; juauzere, b1) would be employed in the rites preceding hunting expeditions. In
[192] the case of nasal flutes, a double analogy has been pointed out by certain informants between their form and that [106] of the pit of the piquy, and between their name and the name of the piquy (aharu, a 1/2). The latter analogy exists only in the eastern dialect

of the Beyond, and condemned to nothingness after death like non-initiated babies. We have described the tender companionship which presides in the relationships between the sexes, and the general harmony which reigns within the groups. But when these are altered, it is to give way to the most extreme solutions, poisoning and murder. It is quite reasonable for the informants to underline spontaneously the role of forgetfulness in funeral rites. (3)

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3. P. 112.

For there is a striking contrast between the joyous irony with which one answers someone who is ignorant enough to inquire about a relative deceased for quite awhile: "iluftu, iluetu" (a1), "to the sand! in the sand!," and the horrible apparition of the atatu which is evoked with ritual sobbing.

Nambikwara rites do not seem to be symbolic in any way. The skeleton-like state of A21 and a22 at the end of the period of abstinence testifies to that, and although ceremonies are rare, they are carried far. The informants speak of periods of three months for the isolation of the young girl entering puberty, and of a bath in the river lasting a whole night as a preliminary to marriage. However much behavior is supple and without complication in daily life, likewise intrusions of the supernatural (in visions and revelations, the séances of shamanism, war dances, etc.) are manifested by the transition to an atmosphere of tragedy. No South American group, to our knowledge, expresses in such a sincere and spontaneous way (for one never feels the theatrical atmosphere of Tupi or chaqueno shamanism) such violent and opposed sentiments, whose individual expression seems inseparable from a social stylization which never betrays them.

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It is far from us to wish to assign an exclusively economic cause to this dualism. Nevertheless, it is astonishing to consider that the psychological dualism goes on an equal footing with the organization of social existence around [127] two opposite poles, on the one hand the sedentary life, agricultural, based on the dual masculine activity of the construction of huts and of gardening; on the other hand, the nomadic period, during which subsistence is principally assured by feminine collecting and gathering, the one representing alimentary security and well-being, the other chance and want. To these two ways of life, one followed in the winter, the other in the summer, the Nambikwara react in very different ways. They speak of the former with the melancholy which is attached to the conscious and resigned acceptance of the human condition, to the dull repetition of identical acts.

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